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XXVII.—*The Kaffir Race of Natal.* By ROBERT JAMES MANN, M.D., F.R.A.S., F.E.S.L., and Superintendent of Education in Natal.

[Read Nov. 18th, 1866.]

THE colony of Natal is situated on the south-eastern coast of the continent of Africa, about eight hundred miles beyond the Cape of Good Hope. It lies between the twenty-seventh and thirty-second parallels of south latitude, and occupies the broken slope by which the great continent here subsides from the high central table land to the sea. It has a sea-coast, looking to the Indian ocean, one hundred and fifty miles long, and a breadth from the sea to the landward frontier, the Drakenberg mountains, varying between a hundred and twenty and a hundred and sixty miles. Its north-eastern frontier is the large river the Tugela, and its upward continuation, the Buffalo river. Its south-western frontier is in part the river Umtamfume, and in part the river Umzimkulu. The land comprised within these frontiers has an extent about equal to one-third the area of England. Beyond the Tugela river, the neighbouring territory belongs to the independent Zulu Kaffirs. Beyond the Drakenberg frontier lie the Orange River Free States, and the land of the Basuto chief Moshesh; and beyond the Umzimkulu and Umtamfume rivers live the Griqua people of Adam Kok, and the Amapondo Kaffirs of the chief Faku. Such is the colony of Natal and its surroundings.

Natal now has lofty pastures covered by horses and flocks, and herds that are counted by thousands; and it now exports sugar, coffee, and wool, and aspires to export tobacco, flax, and cotton; and bids fair very soon to realise its aspiration. It nevertheless is in reality a very young land. It has only been an independent colony of Great Britain for ten years; it has only been a British dependency for twenty-one years; it has only been the seat of an English settlement for forty-three years.

Forty-three years ago, nothing was definitely known of the land which now takes rank as the sunny and promising colony of Natal. There were floating traditions that its shores had been occasionally visited by white people, and that the land was occupied by a gentle black race. It is, of course, familiar history that Vasco de Gama saw the land in December 1497, and named it the land of the Nativity. In the year 1683, eighty shipwrecked English sailors made their way through the coast region of what is now the territory of Natal, from Delagoa Bay

to the Cape of Good Hope. Three years subsequently, the crew of a stranded Dutch ship spent twelve months on the coast; and after this, certainly one abortive attempt was made to establish a Dutch settlement. There is at the present time a woman among Umnini's people, on the Natal river Umgababa, the wife of a native man named Funwayo, who is reputed among the Kaffirs to have the blood of one of these early European visitants in her veins. So little, however, is known of the incidents connected with these early visits, that, for all practical purposes, the year 1823 must be taken as the date of the actual introduction of the "*Terra Natalis*" of Vasco de Gama to good society.

In the year 1823, an officer of marines, Lieut. Farewell, who was at the time engaged upon a surveying expedition, landed on the coast, at the spot which is now the seat of the harbour of Durban. He found the coast almost void of inhabitants, from the river Itongati southwards. But to the north of the river Itongati there was a powerful native tribe, under the rule of a warlike chief, who claimed virtual supremacy over the wide district stretching from King George's river, Delagoa Bay, on the north (south lat. 26°) to the river of St. John's on the south (south lat. 32°). A brief explanation of the occurrences which had brought about this state of affairs must be here premised, because, without the light of such explanation, much that will have to be dwelt upon would be comparatively unintelligible. The explanation is also necessary, because it may be held in a small degree to modify the view of our worthy President, already before the Society, that "no Negro people has ever had the capacity to build up an empire or a monarchy of any extent and durability", unless the "any" be taken in a very limited sense indeed, and also provided the President's other statement, that "the eastern side of Africa is inhabited by the Negro race from the equator to the thirty-third degree of south latitude" is accepted. On this latter point, however, it is possible that there may be more to say.

It will not be without reason and interest, that I should here remark that the principal facts I am about to place before the Society have been ascertained by my friend Mr. Theophilus Shepstone, the secretary for native affairs in the colony, by direct investigation among the natives, and acting under the instructions of the late Lieutenant-Governor, Mr. Scott. Many of the incidents spoken of are of such recent date, that there are Kaffirs still living in the colony, who would be able to say in regard to them, "*Magna pars fui*"—if they could only speak Latin.

About the year 1785, the large tract of land which Lieut. Farewell found desolate and waste, was very differently circumstanced. At that time, the entire stretch of territory which is

now the colony of Natal, from the river Tugela to the river Umzimkulu, and from the Drakenberg frontier to the sea, was densely peopled by Kaffirs. There were at that time about ninety distinct tribes of natives inhabiting this territory. A small tract immediately under the Drakenberg, and lying between the sources of the Umzimkulu and Bushman rivers, was alone unoccupied. The names of these aboriginal tribes are placed on record in Appendix No. 1. The situations are given in the map.

The people who constituted these ninety aboriginal tribes of the district now ranking as the colony of Natal, were essentially gentle and peaceful. They had cattle, sheep, and goats, lived in fixed habitations, and cultivated the ground. They were too densely packed together to be nomadic in their habits. They dwelt in clans, speaking the same language, but ranged each under its own chief, who exercised patriarchal sway over his people, and who had supreme power over their lives and properties, but exercised that power in a mild way, and with considerable deference to public opinion. They were, indeed, very much what the wild natives in the retired districts of the colony now are. Their disputes, at that time, were quarrels rather than wars. The wars that arose out of tribal quarrels rarely lasted more than a few days. The old natives, speaking of this period, say that "the army then never slept away from its home". A single battle always terminated the dispute. The lives of women and children were invariably respected. Prisoners were simply detained until they had paid a ransom; and it was a common occurrence for warriors to send their war-shields home by their companions after a fight, and to remain to prosecute some love suit among the young girls of the tribe they had just been contending with. There was no trace of military organisation anywhere; and whenever it did chance that a hostile encounter occurred, its object seemed to be the mere settlement of a dispute, and not plunder and devastation.

So much for the "golden age" of Natal. We have now to relate how it came to pass that in a very brief period this "golden age" passed away, and an "iron age" took its place. When the ninety peaceful tribes were living where the colonial territory now lies, a similar state of things attained also to the north and to the south. Analogous tribes of black people were dwelling there after same fashion. On the Black and White Umfolozi rivers, situated a few miles beyond the great river Tugela, towards the north-east, there was among these one tribe rather remarkable for its size, and destined to become still more remarkable for its influence. This tribe was called the Umtetwa, and was ruled over by a chief whose name was Jobe. The Umtetwa claimed allegiance from some small native clans residing upon the same rivers. Among

these small tributary clans, one was the Zulu tribe, under the immediate rule of the petty chief Seuzugakona.

Now it happened that the Umtetwa chief Jobe had two sons, Tana and Godongwana; and as the old chief waxed in years, he made arrangements for the ultimate succession of the elder of the two to his place. It was, however, discovered that the young men were impatient for power, and were plotting against the old chieftain's life. He thereupon ordered the young men to be punished for their perfidy with death. The party charged with the execution of this order came upon the young men's hut in the dead of the night. Tana was slain, but Godongwana leaped the fence of the kraal, with an assegai wound in his back, and concealed himself in the darkness; and ultimately escaped from Umtetwa-land, and wandered from tribe to tribe, far to the south. This event occurred about the year 1790.

In the fulness of time the old chief Jobe died; and not long afterwards Godongwana reappeared upon the scene, with two horses, animals hitherto altogether unknown among these people, and riding in state upon one of them. After a brief conflict with the chief who had taken his father's place, he was received as the rightful patriarch of the Umtetwas, and acknowledged by the entire tribe. This was probably about fifteen years after his first exile. His identification was made complete by the scar of the assegai wound upon his back. In accordance with a common custom among the Kaffir tribes, the "birth-name" of the chief was now changed for a "praise-name". Henceforth he became known as "Dingiswayo", which means "the wanderer".

It now appeared that "the wanderer" had performed his wanderings to some purpose. He had come into contact with white people in the far south, and had studied their doings with an observant eye. He brought back with him to the banks of the Umfolozi, in addition to his horses, a considerable knowledge of military organisation and tactics.

But soon afterwards there came to Dingiswayo, from the small tributary tribe of the Zulus, a young adventurer named Chaka. Chaka was a son of the Zulu chief Senzugakona, already named, and had become troublesome at home from his insubordinate spirit, and had now consequently found it prudent to place himself under the protection of Dingiswayo. Chaka enlisted himself in the ranks of one of "the wanderer's" newly organised regiments. This occurred about the time that the battle of Austerlitz was fought in Europe, by one who was then, among the civilised nations of the north, very much what this dusky refugee was about to become in his smaller sphere.

Although Dingiswayo had brought back with him a knowledge of military organisation, and had with it introduced the first

spark of aggressive warfare among these rude people, he still adhered to many of the old softer and gentler traditions. He did not allow women and children to be put to death in a conquered territory. He did not habitually sweep away cattle. He merely occupied the vanquished land, and consumed its beeves and grain so long as it suited him to do so, and exacted obedience. The young soldier Chaka, however, gradually changed all this. He fought in Dingiswayo's army in all its expeditions, and rapidly acquired considerable personal renown and influence. In the year 1810 his father died, and he succeeded to the chieftainship of the Zulus. About the year 1818, the Umtetwas were vanquished by Zwile, of the Amandwandwa tribe, and the Umtetwas sheltered themselves under the rising chief of the Zulus, and amalgamated themselves with Chaka's people.

Chaka now found himself strong enough to start in history upon his own account. From the first he had maintained that Dingiswayo's half merciful policy was a policy of weakness, and that the only safe course, and wise course, for a warrior who was bent upon conquest and aggrandisement, was to utterly disorganise and destroy; if he struck at all, so to strike that nothing should remain which could rise up thereafter in retribution. In carrying out this principle, he adopted several very remarkable expedients. He banded his young men into regiments distinguished by the colour and pattern of their shields. He taught them to wield the single short assegai in close personal conflict, instead of launching the long assegai from afar. He did not allow his soldiers to take wives until they had acquired the privilege as veterans. He marched his troops in close phalanx distributed into body and wings. If a warrior returned from the battle without shield and assegai in his hand, or with a wound on his back, he punished him with immediate death; and if a regiment, or army, returned from an expedition foiled or repulsed, he decimated their ranks, or, in extreme cases, destroyed the entire body. Such was virtually the remarkable processes by which the harmless, gentle Kaffir tribes of the end of the eighteenth century became transformed into one warlike aggressive people, the formidable Zulu Kaffirs of the beginning of the present century.

Wherever there were cattle to be swept away, women and children to be destroyed, and independent tribes to be swallowed up sooner or later, the short javelins and marshalled regiments of Chaka appeared, until at length his name was a sound of terror and power, and his sway was undisputed from Delagoa Bay in the north to St. John's River in the south, a stretch of not less than five hundred miles. Wherever he went, true to his great principle he struck to annihilate. He broke up every tribe he came into contact with, absorbing such of the young men as he could enlist

into his own following, and carrying them away with his regiments. The storm first fell upon Zwide, the conqueror of Dingiswayo. It next broke upon a large tribe, the Amahlube, dwelling upon the Buffalo river, one of the frontiers of the present territory of Natal. The Amahlube at first were hemmed in by the resistance of the compact tribes beyond, and suffered severely; but they ultimately burst through, like a great wave, and dispersed. Other tribes then came in for their turn. Some few of the smaller ones, as, for instance, the Amakabela, lower down the river, who lived where there was dense jungle, manifested singular tenacity and resource. They dodged the conqueror about in the bush, and maintained a wretched and precarious existence in the wilderness, living upon roots and wild animals, and occasionally suffering actual starvation. It is a noteworthy illustration of the absolute and extreme wretchedness that was in places brought about at this period, that cannibalism for the first time appeared among the Kaffirs. The idea was first conceived by a man named Umdava, and under his example four fragments of tribes became cannibal. An old Kaffir named Funwayo, now living in Natal, narrates that when serving in the Zulu army he once came suddenly upon a party of the Amakunyao tribe, on the Umhlatusan river, that passes near Pinetown, and found them cooking over a fire; and that on making a rush with his fellows to possess themselves of the flesh pots, the party found them filled with human feet. A living chief, named Nomsomekwana, relates that when a boy he was captured by one of these cannibal parties, and driven along up the river that runs past the site where the capital city, Maritzburg, now stands, and where then buffalos, elands, and sea-cows were abundant. The boy was made to carry a broad pot, which, he was told, was the cover of one in which he was to be himself cooked. He suddenly threw himself into the river amongst the sea-cows, at a spot close to where the residence of the Bishop of Natal now stands. He was followed by a shower of assegais; but he was a good swimmer, and by diving escaped the pursuit. His sisters were taken away, and actually eaten. After some adventurous wanderings, he had the good luck to fall in with a party of his own people, and went with them to the refuge of a concealed cave which had become their lurking place.

Another man, Unonibiba, tells how, after a period of concealment, he once returned to the home of his people, and found the gardens uninjured, and the crops ripe; but the skulls of those who should have gathered the crops, the relics of a cannibal raid, were bleaching on the hut tops! The Amadunge are known to have become cannibals as well as the Amakunyao. The dogs, at this time, were commonly eaten by their masters. "Wolves,"

(that is to say hyenas) became so daring and fierce from feeding on human flesh, that they boldly attacked both men and women, and continually carried away children

The larger tribes who were primarily attacked by Chaka, in the first instance forced their way further to the south, and took up fresh quarters. But they were there subsequently attacked again as the Zulu power expanded its operations, and the larger body of their people ultimately presented themselves to Chaka, and made formal submission, and were distributed among the head men and officers of the chief. The young men were all incorporated into the Zulu regiments. Two Natal tribes, alone, are spoken of as having escaped destruction by this process. These were the Abatembu, and the Amabaca, who lived respectively on the Buffalo River, low down, and near the site of the city of Maritzburg. The supremacy of Chaka was only checked towards the south by the barrier offered in the close neighbourhood of the Cape Colony, and towards the north by the fever districts lying along the low swamps of King George's River.

Towards the latter part of his reign, Chaka moved one of his royal kraals, named Dakuza, across the Tugela, into the territory that now forms a portion of Natal, near the Umvoti River. This spot is well known as "Chaka's Kraal." Chaka was, therefore, the powerful chief spoken of in a preceding passage as found in this position in the time of Lieutenant Farewell's first visit in the year 1823, and Chaka's supremacy was the reason of the desolation of the country at that time, from the Itongati River to the Umzimkulu.

It curiously enough happened that this remarkable man manifested from the first a readiness and anxiety to cultivate friendly relations with Europeans. Lieutenant Farewell's visit led to a party of about twenty English traders returning to the Bay of Natal, the following year, to effect a settlement there. Mr. Fynn, a gentleman who was personally known to me in Natal, but who is now dead, was sent forward to negotiate a settlement with Chaka, and in the year 1824 this settlement was formed under the sanction of his permission. Mr. Fynn states that at that time he could find neither kraals, cattle, nor corn, anywhere south of the Itongati. He occasionally encountered a few half starved stragglers, deriving a very precarious subsistence from roots and shell-fish. It was a very rare thing to see more than two natives at a time together. Some of these miserable wretches soon gathered round the English settlement at the Bay for protection. Such was the first stage in English colonisation at Natal. Three years afterwards fugitives from Zululand proper, beyond the Itongati, began to be added to the settlement, and it became necessary to report the fact to Chaka. In that year a formal

consent was procured from the king for the retention of these fugitives at the settlement.

The rest of Chaka's history, and the events which immediately followed upon his death, lie within what may be properly called the historical period of Natal; they need, therefore, only to be alluded to here in the briefest possible way, and just so far as may serve to connect this curious early phase of Natal native life, with what has to be told of the Natal native subjects of her Majesty Queen Victoria. Chaka's reign ended on the 23rd day of September, in the year 1828. On that day he was assassinated at his royal kraal on the Umvoti, while receiving a deputation from the Amaponda chief Faku, to tender his submission. Chaka's army had just returned from a successful expedition against Faku, and been ordered off without rest towards the north. Immediately after its departure, Dingaan, a brother of Chaka's, seized a favourable opportunity to bring the great chief's career to a sudden and violent end. Chaka was about forty-one years of age at the time of his death. Dingaan succeeded to the chieftainship of the Zulus, after the destruction of his brother, but many of the tribes revolted from him. Disputes occasionally arose between Dingaan and the English settlers at the Bay, chiefly about refugees, which ultimately led to an expedition being sent against the English settlers in the year 1833. The English retired for a time into Faku's territory, but subsequently returned under the guarantee of a treaty with Dingaan. This treaty was dated the 6th of May, 1835, and set forth that:—"Dingaan, from this period, consents to waive all claim to the persons and property of every individual now residing at Port Natal, in consequence of their having deserted from him, and accords them his full pardon. He still, however, regards them as subjects liable to be sent for whenever he may think proper. The British residents at Port Natal, on their part, engage for the future never to receive or harbour any deserter from the Zulu country, or any of its dependencies, and to use every endeavour to secure and return to the king every such individual endeavouring to find an asylum among them." Immediately after the conclusion of this treaty the number of the natives gathered round the English settlement was increased to 1,000 adult men, and the settlement was named the township of D'Urban, after Sir Benjamin D'Urban, the Governor of the Cape. In the following year the Dutch immigrants began to flock down into Natal from the mountains. The struggle between the Dutch Boers and Dingaan, and the destruction of Dingaan, and the elevation of his brother Umpanda in the interest of Boer alliance and friendship followed. The victorious Dutchmen founded the city of Maritzburg in the year 1839; took a tribute of 36,000 head of cattle from Umpanda,

and set back the frontier of Zululand some distance beyond the Tugela to the north. Then ensued the dispute, and conflict, of the Boer immigrants with the British authorities, who claimed allegiance from them in virtue of their being off-sets from the Cape Colony. In the year 1845 this dispute was finally arranged by the submission of the Boers, and the formal annexation of Natal as a British colony was made, its frontiers being fixed on the Tugela River, the Drakenberg Mountains, and the Umzimkulu River. The arrangement gave Umpanda Zululand beyond the Tugela, and the Dutch the Orange River Free States beyond the Mountains.

During these several phases of Natal history, one most important change has been continually and steadily in progress. The Kaffir population, which was scattered at the time of Zulu encroachment, has been gradually, and year by year, returning to its old haunts, until at the present time there are in the colony of Natal close upon 180,000 black people living under the ægis of British protection and British rule. These numbers are made up in part of tribes which have returned from exile and concealment, and in part of refugees who escape from Zululand, and cross the river frontier in the darkness of night, either to avoid some penalty which they fear, or because they have learned to estimate rightly the advantage and blessing of a civilised government.

There are at the present time fifty-nine native tribes resident within the territory of Natal. The names of these tribes are expressed in the Appendix No. 2. The first forty-three tribes on the list are identical with old aboriginal tribes of the district that inhabited the land before the episode of Zulu invasion. The next nine tribes of the list are composite, being made up of a fusion of fragments of other aboriginal tribes. The last seven tribes of the list are intrusive tribes that have entered the territory subsequent to the Zulu dispersion, but that were found there when the land became a British dependency.

Now these people are living, for the most part, in huts and kraals, or native villages, either gathered into locations set apart especially for their accommodation, or scattered abroad over the lands of the Crown, and of private proprietors; and in these huts and villages they dwell much after the fashions of the days that preceded the advent of Chaka's legions. They have cattle, and sheep, and goats and gardens filled with grain crops, and an occasional family scuffle is all they ever know of war. Each tribe is again headed by its own patriarch, or chief, in numerous instances the direct lineal descendant of the old ruler. But there is this most important difference between the present and the past. No Chaka can ever again bring desolation to the simple community, and give its women and children to the flood and the spear, and

to the tooth of the cannibal and the hyena. The several patriarchs have at any rate taken security against the recurrence of that wretchedness. They are now each and all the children of Queen Victoria. They are still chiefs in the sense that they are looked up to by their people as the traditional heads of the clans, and as having power to settle petty disputes, and punish petty offences, in accordance with the traditions of their old customs. But they are now lieutenant chiefs in the place of being supreme chiefs. Each is said to govern his tribe, but he is also held responsible to the Lieutenant-Governor of the Colony for his management. The supreme power has been transferred to the proper head of the State. All grave matters are referred to the courts of the magistrates and judges of the land. Even in the petty cases that are adjudicated by the chiefs an appeal lies to the magistrates of the districts, to the secretary for native affairs, and even, in case of need, to the Governor himself in council. The tribes are subdivided into territorial districts, villages or kraals, and families, and each of these sub-divisions has its own appropriate and responsible head, who looks to the Induna, or head-man, of the division next above him. This organisation is so admirably complete that at the present time any order emanating from the Governor can be instantaneously disseminated to every native hut in the land, although it has necessarily to be communicated entirely without the intervention of written documents.

The traveller who goes, at the present day, into the native districts of the colony of Natal, among these people, can entirely realise what the state of the land was at the end of the last century before the Zulu invasion. The natives there have now resumed their old modes of life in almost every particular. The most notable differences that are found are that the old karosses have been very generally replaced by blankets of English manufacture, and that curious iron hoes of Birmingham make are now plentiful in the gardens. It should perhaps be added that the golden age has returned, in the sense that money bags are beginning to make their appearance among the lares and penates of the hut.

The wild Kaffir of Natal still lives in his low thatched hut upon the hill-side, and passes his days in sunny indolence, making his women perform such slight labour as is absolutely essential for the bare preservation of a mere animal existence. Much that the President of the Ethnological Society has said and written of the unprogressiveness of the Negro race is unquestionably true of this section of these Kaffir people. They have long had, as a possession, the ox, the sheep, the goat, and the dog; and they have long cultivated millet and Indian-corn. They have long possessed the art of rudely fabricating malleable iron. Still

their agriculture and their manufactures have remained in the most primitive state. They have no architecture; they have never attempted to hew a stone, or to fashion a brick; they have no literature; and certainly they have no more conceived the idea of taming the elephant than of taming the alligator. It is very remarkable how these people, after their dispersion by the aggressions of Chaka, have gathered together into the fold of a civilised protection, and into the light of a civilised example, with the exact reproduction of their ultra-barbarous and primitive state of existence.

The Kaffirs of the South-Eastern African coast, and of the Natal district, are undoubtedly of Negro blood. The distinctive characteristics of the Negro organisation,—the black woolly hair, dark eyes, flat face, depressed nose, jutting jaws, thick lips, large mouth, and peculiar odour of skin,—are all found among them in frequent and full development. But the Negro organisation is as unquestionably mingled in the Kaffir with some higher and nobler type. The woolly hair and peculiar odour of the skin are never absent. But the observer continually encounters men with sharp features, thin lips, prominent nose, and upright prominent, and often square foreheads of unmistakeable capacity. Another peculiarity which is very remarkable among these people, and which I think is wanting among the pure Negro races, is the lightness and slimness of the limbs. This is so strikingly obvious in the children that it at once attracts the notice of the most casual observers. Mr. Crawford justly remarks that the typical features of Negro organisation are found in a “greatly mitigated” form in the Kaffirs of the Eastern African coast. Now this modification of organisation must, I conceive, be attributed to one of two causes. It must be due either to external circumstances, brought into operation in the eastern districts, which do not attain in the western; or it must be a result of the commingling of different bloods. In my own limited sphere of observation I have never been able to detect the existence of the first class of influences. Certainly there is nothing in the practice of these people of the proceeding which has been conceived to call forth in some instances finer types of organisation, namely, the selection of exceptionally handsome women for their mates by privileged and distinguished men. The more I have moved about among these Kaffirs, and studied the interesting diversities of their features and organisation, the stronger the conviction has, almost unconsciously, and certainly involuntarily, grown in my own mind, that they are not of pure Negro blood, but that there are at least two distinct elements in their organisation, which are continually cropping out, now one, and now the other, into predominance in even the same families. In considering this ques-

tion I think we should never lose sight of the fact, which has been so well put by our President, namely, that the Negro type is *in a state of abeyance*, or at any rate of mitigation, at the eastern border of the great continent. This surely in some way points towards the concealed cause of the peculiarity. We must look for that cause, not in the selection of handsome mates by tasteful and privileged men, which would surely be as likely, to say the least for it, to attain on one side of the continent as on the other; but to the *East*; in other words, to a geographical position, which at once seems to suggest that there may have been a special neighbourhood of peoples in one case that does not occur in the other case. I by no means pretend to be able to offer a solution of this interesting problem, or indeed to be able to express any very certain conclusion in my own mind beyond the general conviction I have alluded to, notwithstanding the fact that the consideration has been present to my thoughts for a very long time. But upon a recent occasion, in a conversation which I had with Mr. Palgrave at Nottingham, during the meeting of the British Association for the Advancement of Science, I was very much impressed by the description he gave me of his friends of the South-Eastern district of Arabia; the Kahtanic variety which he inclines, it will be remembered, to derive from the Highlands of Abyssinia, in contradistinction to the North-Western Ismaelitic Arab of true Asiatic extraction. Much that he told me of his Arab friends strongly brought back to my mind things that I had seen among my own acquaintances of what I take to be the higher type of Kaffir organisation. It is not unworthy of remark, in connection with this subject, that at page 454 of the first volume of his interesting book, Mr. Palgrave says, "The Kahtanic Arabs are, so to speak, nearer related to the Negro than are the Ismaelitic tribes, and hence more readily admit Africans to fellowship, intermarriage, and civil rights—nay, even to government—a fact which has not escaped the discerning eye of Niebuhr." My present object is simply to place in connection with this observation the fact that the original seat ascribed by Mr. Palgrave to this remarkable people, so ready to admit negroes to fellowship, and inter-marriage, is *just to the east*; that is where we have to search for the cause of mitigation of negro characteristics which makes Kaffir organisation.

The slimness of limb, which I have alluded to, is, I think, one of the Arab characteristics. It comes out in the adult Kaffir in moulding him more into the form of Mercury, than of Hercules. The Kaffirs, as a rule, are active rather than strong. They are great walkers, and as messengers are without rival. One would almost be justified in believing that a letter put into the slip of a cleft stick, and delivered to a Kaffir in Natal, with an intimation

that the great chief required it to be delivered to her Majesty Queen Victoria, at Windsor, would turn up at its destination in due time.

Mr. Crawford remarks of the Negroes, that their religion is witchcraft, and that they have neither doctrine, ritual, nor temples. I have no doubt that this is literally true of the Kaffir tribes. They have medicine men who bring rain for a consideration, and cure diseases by charms and incantations, and who undertake to discover lost property, and to find concealed water. These men are generally half fanatics, and half rogues, and often make out for themselves a prosperous career. There is among the Kaffirs some shadowy notion of an influence exerted over them by the spirits of their fathers, and of their great chiefs. It is, however, very difficult to get exactly at the character of this idea. My own impression is, that it is a very vague and imperfectly defined superstition among themselves. A feeling, more than a thought or a doctrine. One very amusing instance of the great difficulty that lies in the way of coming to a safe conclusion in this matter occurred within the sphere of my own knowledge. One high and excellent authority, who has come to the conclusion that the Kaffirs have a clear perception and recognition of the existence of a supreme power, strengthened this opinion by reference to the testimony of three Kaffir women at a certain missionary station. These three women were shortly afterwards examined by another authority, also well versed in their language and modes of expression and thought, and the second authority gave this version of the women's testimony—that it sometimes happens the women come into their hut with numerous children when a meal is prepared, and the children are very hungry and clamorous, and to get rid of this clamour the women say suddenly, "Listen ! Unkulu-unkulu is calling." The children rush out to listen. While they are listening the women eat up the food ; and when the children return, and begin to cry for their food, they say, "Oh ! Unkulu-unkulu has taken it." Much of the reason of the difficulty of coming to safe knowledge in matters of this kind is, that the Kaffirs are naturally very shrewd, and singularly suspicious, when submitted to any very close examination, and readily jump to the conclusion of what it is that the interrogator wants, and oblige him with it. It once happened to myself that I had a dispute with a friend regarding the visibility of a certain well known mountain, at a certain spot. I asserted that the mountain was necessarily visible at the place, and that I had continually seen it thence. My friend maintained it was not visible there, and to prove his position called in a learned Kaffir, who had lived all his life in the neighbourhood, and was a high authority in colonial topography. The Kaffir immediately, under the close

questioning of my friend, decided that certainly no mountain could be seen. My friend, nevertheless, saw the mountain from that spot with his own eyes a few days afterwards, when the dispute was referred in appeal from the Kaffir to the fact. As a rule, all barbarous people are shy of answering truly, when questioned. It is not so much that they have any deliberate intention, or desire, to deceive, as that they are instinctively cautious of giving information that may, in some unsuspected way, compromise themselves. If you are very anxious to know something from them, you must have some reason for your anxiety, and it is, therefore, only a piece of common worldly prudence to ascertain why you want to know, before they let you into the secret.

I myself believe that there is another very important reason why it is not easy to get clear notions from the Kaffirs concerning some matters of this class—the fact, namely, that they have no very definite or clear ideas on the matters themselves. Some of their ceremonial dances are so dramatic and descriptive that it is difficult for the observer not to conceive that there is some meaning lurking in the performance. With this impression on my own mind I have again and again endeavoured to get an explanation of one particular dance, in which the women take part, and appeal moaningly and wailingly to the men, while these dance away, shaking the earth with their stamp, and piercing the sky with their assegais, but resolutely unconscious of the presence of the praying women. For a long time I believed there was some meaning which was intentionally concealed. I have now no doubt whatever that the Kaffirs who perform the dance do not know its meaning. The answer to all questions is simply, “We do so, because our fathers did so.” Most probably the form of the dance has been given to it by some early incident; but that now the incident is forgotten and lost, although the form of the dance is transmitted, by the actual practice of it, from father to son.

Much of the Kaffir superstition is weird and dark. I will give one illustration of this, taken from the Zulus of the present day. A general belief prevails among the wild Zulus that certain evil disposed persons have the power of working harm to those around them by supernatural means. These evil doers are termed “Abatakati.” Whenever a Kaffir dies, these Abatakatis set leopards and wild cats to work, to hunt out the spot where the body is buried. When the body is discovered it is restored to life by the administration of medicines, and the tongue is cut out, and the restored creature then becomes an “Umkovu” or hobgoblin, and is kept in reserve to carry out the evil purposes of the restorer. Under the instructions of the Abatakati, the Umkovu goes in the dead of the night to the neighbourhood of

some inhabited kraal, and shouts "Maya, Maya," which means something like, "Woe, woe, to the house of my father." This sound is held to be the death doom of some one in the kraal. When the Kaffirs hear this exclamation they remain terror-stricken and motionless. They believe that to speak, or to move hand or foot, would certainly bring the doom upon themselves. There is one quaint little appendix to this superstition, which goes far to connect it with the pale of daily natural life. The Kaffirs believe that idiots and half-witted people are "hobgoblins" who have not been perfectly restored in consequence of the physicking having been stopped, and the process interrupted, before the tongue could be cut out.

Life is now as secure among the Kaffir tribes of Natal, as it is in civilised England. But it is far otherwise among the Kaffir tribes that live beyond our frontiers; and this is especially the case among the Zulus. The chief there still exercises supreme power over the lives of his people; and murders under his orders or sanction are of almost daily occurrence. There is no formal trial adopted in Zululand for an alleged offence. The culprit is accused to the chief, and if he believes him to be a dangerous, or feels him to be an obnoxious subject, a sanction is given for his destruction, and an armed party is ordered to carry the decision into effect. The sentence generally involves the lives of the entire family of the offender. The mere suspicion that a man is contemplating leaving Zululand for the British territory, is quite enough to bring the arm of vengeance at once upon his head. Upon a recent occasion, Mr. Shepstone, the Secretary for native affairs, paid a visit to Umpana, the Zulu king, and had to remove from the spot, where he was about to pitch his tent on arriving near the king's kraal, Umgungunhlovu, because it had been preoccupied by two dead men who had just been knocked on the head there. On the morning of the 7th of June, 1864, I was breakfasting with the Government border agent, at his residence near the Tugela River, when we were told that a party consisting of a young lad, four women, and two young men had just come in from Zululand by crossing the river in the night. I took the young lad, whose name was Matupa, away with me, and kept him until I left the colony in April last. This gave me the opportunity of ascertaining this lad's history, and his reason for leaving the lands of his fathers like a thief in the night. This is Matupa's history. His father had some little time previously made himself obnoxious to one of the Chief Ketchwayo's head men, and been accused, before the chief, of having bewitched certain people who had died. The chief sanctioned his execution, and he was killed. The boy's mother and twin brother were soon after destroyed in a similar way. The boy, another brother, and a sister, then went

off towards the Tugela, and settled down near it with a man called Umlazane, who was one of Ketchwayo's own messengers. A few days before my visit to the agent, at the Tugela, Umlazane had been over to Maritzburg to fetch some skins. Ketchwayo sent for him to ask why he had done this without permission. That night he was knocked on the head, and disappeared from the scene. On the following night the lad and six companions stole away, and succeeded in getting safely across the river to the shadow of the ægis of Queen Victoria ; and I have no doubt had very good reason for doing so. Matupa proved to be one of the quickest and cleverest Kaffir lads that I have known. He made an excellent servant, and might be taught anything. One very amusing incident illustrates the lad's natural shrewdness. When he had been with me a few months, some strange men came up from the coast to see him, claiming to be relatives. He was very delighted to see them, but pulled me aside while they were talking, and although I could not understand his language, and he could not then speak half-a-dozen words of English, he managed at once to make me understand that his new friends had come up to see whether they could not bag the wages that had become due to him for service ; but that I was not on any account to give them any money. I was to be sure to keep his "marley" for him. I need not say that I scrupulously obeyed the lad's instructions in this important particular.

The state of affairs in Zululand, and just beyond the north-eastern frontier of Natal, thus incidentally noticed, is connected intimately with some very remarkable passages in recent Zulu history, which time does not permit me to dwell upon, on this occasion. It will be sufficient here briefly to say that the brother of Dingaan, Umpana, who was set up in his place by the Dutch Boers in the year 1840, still sits as king in the high place in Zuludom, and that the old king has steadily maintained the most friendly relations with the English authorities from the time of the annexation of the colony, down to the present period. But the old king has had a troublous time. As his sons have grown to man's estate the young men of the land have gathered round them, and parties have been formed. In the month of December, of the year 1856, a great battle took place near to our north-eastern frontier, in which the party of the second son, Umbulazi, was scattered and destroyed by the elder son, Ketchwayo. In this battle several of old Umpana's sons were killed ; but two of the younger ones of Umbulazi's faction, namely, Usikota and Umkungu, escaped as mere lads into Natal, and are now living there under British protection, greatly to the delight of the old king, but to the disgust of their brother, Ketchwayo. The old king is still counted "the head" of the people, and sits surrounded

by the peaceful old men, the Nestors and the Solons of Zuludom. But Ketchwayo is looked to as "the feet and hands," and is "as the rose of the fair state" to the restless young spirits who have only heard of the glorious days of Chaka and his legions. In this state of affairs, Ketchwayo very naturally views all disaffection from his own rule, and secession from his own adherents, with abhorrence, and looks at all unauthorised communication with Natal with suspicion. Upon one occasion, it is believed that he even conceived a plan for endeavouring to seize his young brothers in British territory. But the old king got news of the threatened treachery, and sent private intimation to the colonial authorities. For a considerable time the British Government has been more in favour with the general Zulu population, than the rule of their own chiefs; and the colonial authorities have hence found it necessary to discountenance the too easy passage into the colonial territory. This object is practically effected by returning all cattle brought into Natal by refugees, on their restitution being formally claimed by the Zulu chiefs, and by registering refugees and assigning them a term of three years' service to white men when they enter the colony. By such means is the remnant of the empire of the great Chaka now kept upon its legs. So, perhaps after all, we may ere long have to admit that our President *was* right when he said, "No Negro people has ever had the capacity to build up an empire or a monarchy of any extent and durability." Mr. Shepstone, the Secretary for native affairs in Natal, believes that, if these two restrictions were once removed, the Zulu power would instantly crumble into pieces.

The number of the Natal Kaffirs—that is, of the black people living in Natal territory, and rendering allegiance to the Government—has increased very rapidly. There were probably about ten thousand Kaffirs gathered round the white settlers in Natal in the year 1838. In the year 1843, when claims were made for land by the Dutch farmers and white settlers, there were more than 100,000 natives scattered about over the country. The number of Natal Kaffirs at the present is very near to 200,000. This increase, of course, has not been through the natural process of multiplication. It has been mainly due to the regathering of the remnants of the dispersed tribes, and to the constant accession of refugees from all directions, but principally from savage Zuludom. The question of the rate of natural increase among these people is one that is not easy of determination. My own impression is that the numbers do naturally increase, but at a much slower rate than among the civilised peoples of Europe. I have also no doubt that this rate of increase will be found to be considerably augmented, where the Kaffirs are settled under British rule.

The Kaffir attaches as many women to his household as he can buy for cows, and consequently the wealthy old men get rather more than their fair share of this marketable commodity. Polygamy is an institution that is so intimately interwoven with all the customs and modes of thought of the Kaffirs, that it will necessarily prove a very difficult arrangement to get altered. The practice remains in full force among the Natal tribes. But all constrained marriages are discountenanced by the magistrates, and offenders in this particular are punished whenever an appeal is made for protection. It is in contemplation to render the woman's declaration of free consent indispensable to a marriage contract. In the meantime two very important measures in the right direction have been taken by the authorities in modification of the old practice. Every marriage is now held to be irrevocable and final, so far as the interference of the parents of the women are concerned; and widows are now permitted to marry whom they please without any reference to the will of the natural guardians.

Mr. Crawford has remarked on the submissiveness of the Negro. This quality comes out in the Kaffir in a remarkable deference for the white man. The Kaffir instinct unquestionably is to look at the white man as a superior being. For this very reason the Kaffir is slow to follow the white man's example in social things. He thinks certain arrangements are intended for, and belong to, white men; but not to black men. One of the commonest answers missionaries get to their appeals to wild Kaffirs, is, "Oh, yes! That is all very right and true. There is a great spirit who looks after the white men, and who cares for them. But he has nothing to do with the black people—that is quite another affair." It is a very curious fact that the first operation of missionary influence among the Kaffirs is to destroy this feeling of instinctive deference, and to develope in its stead a very considerable amount of self-sufficiency and conceit. A very good tale is told in illustration of this, by a reverend missionary well known to me, and who stands foremost in the band of Americans who have so long and so assiduously laboured among these barbarians, as one of the first that entered upon the work. He was walking with some friends, through one of the streets of the city of Maritzburg, in its quite early days, when a knot of gaily dressed Kaffir converts burst out from a service just concluded at a Wesleyan Chapel, chattering, with a jaunty step, and with such fragments of noses as they possessed well up in the air, and deliberately elbowed the missionary and his friends off the path. The missionary stopped, and clenched his hands, and looked back after the bevy of converts with the exclamation, "If I were not a minister of Christ's church, I would give you interesting gentlemen a

lesson you should have cause to remember for the rest of your lives." The inference to be drawn from this remark, and this anecdote, is simply that the practical success of missionary enterprise among these barbarians very much depends upon the judgment and common sense that are brought to bear in the prosecution of the work.

The Kaffirs of Natal do not use the bow and arrow. Their arms are lances, or assegais, of various dimensions and patterns; shields, nearly as long as the men are tall, made of ox hides, stretched upon frames; and knobbed sticks, or clubs, which they throw with considerable dexterity. The natural mode of attack seems to be simply an excited rush made after the warriors have danced and shouted themselves into a transient frenzy. Chaka introduced a more artistic mode of procedure, which has been already in some measure alluded to.

There is one interesting peculiarity among these people which deserves a brief notice on account of the light it throws upon some of their modes of thought, and their natural capacity for humour. The Kaffirs have no family names. Each individual is distinguished by a name invented for him at his birth, and this name is commonly changed, among the men, at adult years, for a name of renown. A very surprising stretch of ingenuity is exerted in contriving these appellations. Thus "Umgodi" is simply "the boy who was born in a hole." That is a birth name. "Umginqisago" is "the hunter who made the game roll over"—that is a name of renown. "Umomoye" is "the man with a broad face." "Usirishe" is "the man with the big beard." A lady, an acquaintance of my own, is "Unomaqalagala," because she "looks out in all directions in order to see"—that is, glances from side to side as she walks. Another lady is "Unomaqekeqekana"—that is, "who goes off in little cracks"—because she walks with an elastic gait. "Isibikwana" or "the little window" is an intimate and valued friend of my own, who unfortunately is so short-sighted that he has commonly to use concave glasses before his eye.

Sir S. W. Baker has remarked that the Negro is in advance of white races in intellectual quickness during early childhood; but that he acquires his full intellectual development very soon (I think Sir Samuel believes as early as twelve or fifteen years of age), and does not expand, or advance, intellectually afterwards. This certainly is not the case with the Kaffir tribes. The children are quick and docile, and can be taught just anything. But the men grow with advancing years in intelligence and sagacity in a remarkable degree. Among the wild tribes the young men are nearly all restless, impulsive, turbulent, and boastful; the old men are quite all self-contained, astute, obedient to order, and full of

wise saws and instances. They are naturally great talkers, and this, I believe, is the proper explanation of the primitive education that goes on among them in even their rudest condition. It is still, of course, a moot point, what this capability may augur for the future of these people. The question is as important as it is interesting ; too important and large, indeed, to be opened at the end of a paper. I will, therefore, only say, as in some way bearing upon it, that I know many Kaffir men in Natal who are now living in square upright houses, with their families around them, possessing property, earned by their own labour, in some instances of considerable amount, and contributing liberally for the support of schools for the teaching of their children. I know one Kaffir man who has purchased a sugar mill, entirely of his own head, at a cost of £700, and who, when I left the colony, was working his own machinery, and crushing his own and his neighbours' cane, without the slightest assistance from white hands. To complete my picture I am bound also to add that I know another Kaffir, who is also a very fair practical engineer, but who, upon one occasion, sat down upon the safety valve of his engine, when he wanted to quicken its work, in order that he might finish a certain crushing, and get away from a stipulated task. The Kaffir who sat down on the safety valve was, however, a young lad. The Kaffir who is crushing, and manufacturing, with his own machinery, is an old man. The young lad is undoubtedly clever and quick, but I am sure I am quite justified in saying he *will* give up sitting down upon the safety valves of steam engines when his intellect has attained the full development it is capable of.

APPENDIX.

No. 1.

Names of the Kaffir tribes which dwelt in the territory now included in the colony of Natal, before the invasion of Chaka.

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|-------------------|----------------|
| 1. Amacele | 16. Amampumuza |
| 2. Amendelu | 17. Magenge |
| 3. Amahlongwa | 18. Amafunze |
| 4. Amasomi | 19. Amabaca |
| 5. Amandhlovu | 20. Amambedu |
| 6. Amatuli | 21. Amangamvu |
| 7. Amaganga. | 22. Amabambo |
| 8. Inyamvino | 23. Amahlube |
| 9. Amadunge | 24. Amabele |
| 10. Amancolosi | 25. Amazizi |
| 11. Amantshunyasi | 26. Amakuze |
| 12. Amakabela | 27. Abatembu |
| 13. Amapepeta | 28. Amapumulo |
| 14. Amazondé | 29. Amagwabe |
| 15. Amaxamalala | 30. Amawquswa |

- | | |
|-------------------|---|
| 31. Amagadé | 63. Amakuze |
| 32. Awaosiyane | 64. Amatolo |
| 33. Amahlala | 65. Amangwabe |
| 34. Elanyeni | 66. Amagamedze |
| 35. Emalangeni | 67. Amankabane |
| 36. Amabiya | 68. Amahlanyao |
| 37. Amakanya | 69. Amangondo |
| 38. Amamemela | 70. Sibenyakansale |
| 39. Enhlangwini | 71. Amandhlovu, another section
of No. 5 |
| 40. Amapemvu | 72. Sivuku |
| 41. Abamkulise | 73. Macindwaneni |
| 42. Amanyongoma | 74. Amantshele |
| 43. Amalanga | 75. Amakalolo |
| | 76. Amantambo |
| 44. Abalumbi | 77. Amayobo |
| 45. Amakunyao | 78. Amatolo, another section of
No. 64 |
| 46. Amazelemu | 79. Nomabunga |
| 47. Amahlongwa | 80. Amantambo |
| 48. Amaxesibe | 81. Amacekwana |
| 49. Amagwanyana | 82. Jojo |
| 50. Amasani | 83. Abatshwan |
| 51. Macabise | 84. Amavundhle |
| 52. Amadhlanoyoka | 85. Amandongela |
| 53. Amangilo | 86. Nomanhla |
| 54. Unqinambe | 87. Tshobeni |
| 55. Unondaba | 88. Tshangase |
| 56. Emkulwini | 89. Amambovane |
| 57. Amawushe | 90. Gwai |
| 58. Umbonjini | 91. Amabambo, another section of
No. 22 |
| 59. Amahlanyao | 92. Amangcobo |
| 60. Amavangane | |
| 61. Abakwamiya | |
| 62. Amazizi | |

No. 2.

Names of the Kaffir tribes residing in Natal at the present time.

Tribes that were in the district before the invasion of Chaka :
—The first forty-three tribes enumerated in Appendix No. 1.

Tribes that have been formed by the mingling of fragments of other of the aboriginal tribes of the district :—

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|--------------|----------------|
| 44. Amaduma | 49. Amaquanya |
| 45. Ismkumbi | 50. Esinyameni |
| 46. Amaximba | 51. Izembe |
| 47. Tolani | 52. Nozitshina |
| 48. Abatwa | |

Tribes found in Natal at the time of the British annexation of the colony, but not in the district at the time of the first Zulu invasion :—

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|--------------|---------------|
| 53. Abasembo | 57. Amungwana |
| 54. Amabaso | 58. Amulata |
| 55. Amabomvu | 59. Esibisini |
| 56. Amacunu | |